Historical Papers
Communications historiques

Students Abroad: Preconfederation Educational Links Between Newfoundland and the Mainland of Canada

Malcolm MacLeod

Volume 20, Number 1, 1985

Montréal 1985

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/030938ar
DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/030938ar

See table of contents

Publisher(s)

The Canadian Historical Association/La Société historique du Canada

ISSN

0068-8878 (print)
1712-9109 (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this article

MacLeod, M. (1985). Students Abroad: Preconfederation Educational Links Between Newfoundland and the Mainland of Canada. *Historical Papers / Communications historiques*, *20*(1), 172–192. https://doi.org/10.7202/030938ar

Article abstract

In the decades before Confederation in 1949, one important link between the Dominion of Canada and the reluctant tenth province was the increasing reliance of New- foundland students upon Canadian institutions for advanced education and training. Five volumes of Who's Who in Newfoundland, published between 1927 and 1961, provide biographical information on 344 individuals who left the colony to pursue educational opportunities abroad. The major focus for such opportunities shifted over time from Great Britain to the mainland of Canada. Institutions in the Maritime provinces drew over half of these students, while colleges and schools in Ontario received almost one-quarter. In some instances, Newfoundlanders became an impor- tant proportion of the student body at individual colleges -for example, students from western Newfoundland at Saint Francis Xavier and students from the south coast at Mount Allison. The highest proportion was probably the 15 per cent which Newfoundlander s formed in the general student body at Nova Scotia Technical College in the several years around 1940.

The establishment of Memorial University College in 1925 did two things: it made Newfoundland more self-contained in matters of higher education, and it strengthened certain patterns of international linkage, especially with Canada. Fledgling Memo- rial's major formal affiliations were with the universities of the Maritime provinces: Memorial s president joined representatives of Acadia, Dalhousie, Saint Mary's, King's, Mount Allison and Saint Francis Xavier on the unified Atlantic region govern- ing body of Nova Scotia Technical College and 55 per cent of the degrees held by Memorial's preconfederation faculty members were from Canadian institutions.

This paper demonstrates how natural it was for Newfoundland to be drawn within the Canadian educational orbit in the first half of the twentieth century, while charac- teristic patterns in the links that were formed between two North American countries are illustrated.

Students Abroad: Preconfederation Educational Links Between Newfoundland and the Mainland of Canada*

MALCOLM MacLEOD

Résumé

In the decades before Confederation in 1949, one important link between the Dominion of Canada and the reluctant tenth province was the increasing reliance of Newfoundland students upon Canadian institutions for advanced education and training. Five volumes of Who's Who in Newfoundland, *published between 1927 and 1961, provide biographical information on 344 individuals who left the colony to pursue educational opportunities abroad. The major focus for such opportunities shifted over time from Great Britain to the mainland of Canada. Institutions in the Maritime provinces drew over half of these students, while colleges and schools in Ontario received almost one-quarter. In some instances, Newfoundlanders became an important proportion of the student body at individual colleges — for example, students from western Newfoundland at Saint Francis Xavier and students from the south coast at Mount Allison. The highest proportion was probably the 15 per cent which Newfoundlanders formed in the general student body at Nova Scotia Technical College in the several years around 1940.*

The establishment of Memorial University College in 1925 did two things: it made Newfoundland more self-contained in matters of higher education, and it strengthened certain patterns of international linkage, especially with Canada. Fledgling Memorial's major formal affiliations were with the universities of the Maritime provinces: Memorial's president joined representatives of Acadia, Dalhousie, Saint Mary's, King's, Mount Allison and Saint Francis Xavier on the unified Atlantic region governing body of Nova Scotia Technical College and 55 per cent of the degrees held by Memorial's preconfederation faculty members were from Canadian institutions.

This paper demonstrates how natural it was for Newfoundland to be drawn within the Canadian educational orbit in the first half of the twentieth century, while characteristic patterns in the links that were formed between two North American countries are illustrated.

---

* Several people were very kind in helping me gather information for this article, especially Charles Armour, archivist of Dalhousie University; Clare Callaghan, president of Technical University of Nova Scotia; Bernard Liengme, registrar at Saint Francis Xavier and Cheryl Ennals, librarian at Mount Allison. I am grateful for a Memorial University Vice-President's research grant which provided the valuable assistance of Ken Kerr in the initial collection of data from five volumes of *Who's Who in and from Newfoundland*. Consultation with Ken and with my colleague Jim Hiller helped steer my thinking on some of these matters, and I appreciate their interest.

Dans les décennies qui ont précédé la Confédération en 1949, l'un des liens importants entre le dominion du Canada et la 10ème province hésitante était la confiance croissante des étudiants de Terre-Neuve dans les institutions canadiennes pour l'éducation et la formation supérieures. Cinq des volumes de Who's Who In Newfoundland, *publié entre 1927 et 1961, fournissent des renseignements biographiques sur 344 particuliers qui ont quitté l'île afin de poursuivre leurs études à l'étranger. Le principal centre d'attraction se déplacera, avec les années, de la Grande Bretagne vers le Canada continental. Les institutions des provinces Maritimes attirèrent plus de la moitié de ces étudiants, alors que les collèges et les écoles de l'Ontario en reçurent près du quart.*

Dans certains cas, des Terreneuviens constituaient une importante proportion du corps étudiant de ces collèges. Comme exemples nous citons le nombre d'étudiants de l'Ouest de Terre-Neuve à l'Université Saint-Francis Xavier et d'étudiants de la côte Sud inscrits à l'Université Mount Allison. La proportion probablement la plus élévée se retrouvait au Nova Scotia Technical College où 15 pour cent des étudiants étaient Terreneuviens, et ce pendant plusieurs années autour de 1940.

La fondation du collège universitaire Memorial en 1925 permit à Terre-Neuve de devenir plus autosuffisante dans le domaine de l'enseignement supérieur et de renforcer certaines tendances en matière de relations internationales, plus particulièrement avec le Canada. Le collège universitaire Memorial s'affilia de façon formelle avec les universités des provinces maritimes. Son président joignit des représentants des universités Acadia, Dalhousie, Saint-Mary's, King's, Mount Allision, et Saint-Francis Xavier au sein du bureau du direction unifié de l'Atlantique chargé de gouverner le Nova Scotia Technical College; avant la Confédération, 55 pour cent des membres de faculté de l'Université Memorial étaient diplômés d'institutions canadiennes.

Essentiellement, le présent travail démontre à quel point il était naturel qu'en matière d'éducation Terre Neuve soit attirée dans l'orbite du Canada pendant la première moitié du 20ème siècle; on y illustre aussi les liens caractéristiques qui se sont formés entre deux pays Nord-Américains.

During eight long decades after 1867, while Newfoundland resisted attraction into the Canadian confederation, many strong links between the two countries nevertheless developed. When Newfoundland banks collapsed in the 1890s, major mainland institutions moved in to monopolize that industry completely. Colonial currency, although separately issued, was intimately tied to the Canadian dollar, while pounds, shillings and pence had no circulation on the island. Mainland firms promoted the development of large-scale iron mining at Bell Island near St. John's; this made possible the important growth of heavy industry in Cape Breton. Meanwhile, steamship connections and trade exchanges multiplied.[1]

1. See Malcolm MacLeod, "Subsidized steamers to a foreign country," *Acadiensis* (Spring 1985), pp. 66–92.

The governments achieved very close cooperation—even integration—with Newfoundland included in Canadian networks for weather forecasting, navigational aids and marine radio services, while exchange of mails was masterminded by Newfoundland authorities from their extraterritorial sorting station in North Sydney.[2] Hockey, first introduced by Canadian employees of the banks and the Reid Newfoundland company, quickly became as popular in St. John's as in Saint John. The 1901 census showed that the number of Canadian-born residents of Newfoundland equalled the number of British-born; by the 1940s it was 50 per cent greater. In the same period Newfoundlanders in Canada increased from 12,000 to 26,000—nearly one-twelfth as many Newfoundlanders as there were in the colony itself.[3] From 1925 on, one-third of the people in Newfoundland adhered to congregations of the United Church of Canada.

One other social link of considerable proportions, profound in its implications, was the pattern many ambitious Newfoundlanders exhibited of looking to Canada for educational opportunity. Not until 1950 was it possible to earn a university degree without leaving Newfoundland. The record of Newfoundland students in the half-century before confederation is therefore one of wandering and perambulation. But where did they wander? One might perhaps expect that in this oldest outpost of empire it would be British institutions that beckoned most brightly from afar. Investigation shows, however, that the same propinquity and North American influence that drew Newfoundland into Canadian systems in fields as varied as sports, meteorology and banking, also operated in the sensitive matter of higher education and made Canada, much more than Britain, the real mother country in academic matters.

i

Researching the experiences of preconfederation Newfoundlanders who went abroad for educational reasons is somewhat difficult since there are no obvious records to search. The main questions are simple. Where did they go—Britain, Canada, United States or elsewhere—and in what proportions? A satisfactory answer can be wrung from biographical details contained in five volumes of *Who's who in and from Newfoundland*, published in 1927, 1930, 1937, 1952 and 1961.[4] This register of notables in Newfoundland society presents life stories of 1100 men and women (over 95 per cent are men) born between 1840 and 1930. Among these members of the elite are 344 individuals who were born in Newfoundland but gained some of their education in foreign countries. To which countries did Newfoundlanders turn when they looked abroad for educational opportunities not available in their own island?

2. Malcolm MacLeod, *Nearer than neighbours* (St. John's, 1982), pp. 9–23 and 43–5.
3. In 1901, about two thousand of each in a total Newfoundland population of about 220,000. *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1921* (St. John's, 1923), p. xx. In 1945, there were two thousand Canadians and 1300 British in a total of 322,000. *Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1945*, p. 111.
4. *Who's Who in and from Newfoundland 1927* (St. John's, 1927); *Who's Who in and from Newfoundland 1930* (St. John's, [1930]); *Who's Who in and from Newfoundland 1937* (St. John's, [1937]); *Newfoundland Who's Who 1952* (St. John's, 1952); and *Newfoundland Who's Who 1961* (St. John's, 1961).

Table 1 shows that during the period 1860 to 1949, a near-majority (49 per cent) went to Canada for further education, almost twice as many as went to the next most popular destination, Britain (27 per cent). Twenty per cent went to the United States. Looking at decade-by-decade figures, it is clear that Britain was the most popular choice for off-island education throughout the nineteenth century, while Canada was the overwhelming preference in the twentieth. Between 1860 and 1899, almost half of the students were drawn to British schools and only one-quarter to Canadian. Between 1919 and 1949, however, the tide had reversed sharply: only 18 per cent of Newfoundlanders went to British schools while 62 per cent attended Canadian institutions. In fact, more students went to the United States during these decades (19 per cent) than went to Britain. In matters of higher education, Newfoundland had become firmly attached to North America.

A breakdown showing where these students studied in Canada is given in Table 2. About one-sixth of the experiences took place at the elementary or high school level. This includes a large contingent drawn to a half-dozen prestigious private schools in Ontario, headed by the ten boys who enrolled at St. Andrew's College both before and after it moved from Toronto to Aurora. Most of those leaving the colony (over two-thirds) were attending degree-granting Canadian colleges and universities, especially Dalhousie, Saint Francis Xavier, McGill and the University of Toronto, with the largest number of all being thirty Newfoundlanders who studied at tiny Methodist Mount Allison. We are not used to thinking of Mount Allison as topping the list of Canadian universities with influence outside Canada but it was true in those days when the country was smaller. Other postsecondary training — nonuniversity, such as articling with architects or accountants, or Bob Bartlett's training in Halifax for a certificate as master of British ships — completes the list. Regionally within Canada, the Maritimes exerted the strongest pull upon these foreign students, serving just over half of them, while surprisingly large contigents attended the institutions of anglophone Quebec and of Ontario; almost none ventured any further west.

Newfoundland's Memorial University College opened at St. John's in 1925. This made the colony somewhat less reliant upon foreign countries in matters of higher education. But Memorial also served to focus and even strengthen certain patterns of international linkage (especially with Canada) and to develop new ones. The first Memorial *Calendar* was very blunt about it.

> Students graduating from the Memorial University College will proceed with the status of third year students to those universities of Canada, the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. with which affiliations have been established. The list of these affiliations, which already includes the universities of the Maritime Provinces of Canada, as well as Toronto, Harvard and Columbia, is being enlarged....[5]

Actually, it was not enlarged very fast. Twenty years later, just before confederation, the list was the same except it said "most of" the universities in the Maritimes, McGill

5. Newfoundland Memorial University College [NMUC], *Calendar 1928–1929*, p. 6.

Table 1
Comparative Popularity among Newfoundlanders of British, Canadian, United States or other Locations for Advanced Training or Education, Decade by Decade, 1860–1950[1]

	1860–69	1870–79	1880–89	1890–99	1900–09	1910–19	1920–29	1930–39	1940–49	Total no. of students	% to each country
Great Britain	5	11	15	17	24	20	14	6	1	113	27
Canada	1	4	10	14	28	57	43	30	14	201	49
United States	0	2	4	18	15	15	18	7	5	84	20
Other	0	0	7	0	4	1	1	0	0	13	3
Totals	6	17	36	49	71	93	76	43	20	411[2]	

1. Sample: the foreign schooling experience of all those who studied abroad — 344 individuals — listed in *Who's Who in Newfoundland* 1927, 1930, 1937, 1952 and 1961.
2. Several of these individuals experienced advanced training or education in two or more foreign countries

Table 2
Regional and Institutional Choices of Newfoundlanders pursuing Education or Training on the Mainland of Canada, 1860–1949[1]

Maritimes (106 students; 53 per cent)

Dalhousie University	27	Acadia University (extension)	1
Saint Mary's University	3	Pictou Academy	1
Nova Scotia Technical College	4	Nazarene ministry training, New Glasgow	1
Convent of the Sacred Heart, Halifax	1	Saint Francis Xavier, Antigonish	11
Maritime Business College Halifax	1	Elementary school, Inverness	1
Holy Heart Seminary, Halifax	1	High school, Sydney	1
Halifax Infirmary nursing school	1	High school, North Sydney	1
"Master of British ships," Halifax	1	Night school, Glace Bay	1
Elementary school, Halifax	2	St. Dunstan's College, Charlottetown	1
King's University, Windsor/Halifax	4	Mount Allison, Sackville	30
King's College School, Windsor	5	Aberdeen High School, Moncton	1
Nova Scotia Agricultural College, Truro	2	Institute of Chartered Accountants of New	
Normal School, Truro	1	Brunswick (corres.)	1
Acadia University, Wolfville	2		

Quebec (43 students; 21 per cent)

McGill University	27	Lower Canada College	1
Loyola College	3	Côté Street School, Montreal	1
Macdonald College, McGill	1	Bishop's University	4
Malden Hospital nursing school, Montreal	1	Université Laval	2
La Salle Normal School, Montreal	1	Collège de l'Assumption, Quebec	1
Wesleyan Theological College, Montreal	1		

Ontario (49 students; 24 per cent)

University of Toronto	12	Elementary school, Toronto	1
Victoria University	4	Student with Burke, Horwood & White,	
St. Michael's College	1	architects, Toronto	1
St. Augustine's, Toronto	1	Ontario Agricultural School	1
Ontario College of Art	2	University of Ottawa	1
Salvation Army College, Toronto	1	Ridley College, St. Catharines	2
Upper Canada College	2	Queen's University	3
Oakwood College, Toronto	1	Lakefield School, Peterborough	1
"Private school, Toronto"	1	Albert College, Belleville	1
High school, Toronto	2	Oshawa Missionary College	1
St. Andrews College, Toronto/Aurora	10		

West (3 students; 1 per cent)

North West Mounted Police School, Regina	1	Elementary school, Westminster	1
St. Joseph's Seminary, Edmonton	1		

1. Total sample: 201 persons presented in *Who's Who in and from Newfoundland*, 5 vols., 1927–1961.

had been added ("in certain faculties"), and the "Joint Matriculation Board of the Northern Universities of England has agreed to recognize First Year Courses of this College for admission *Pro tanto*."[6] Memorial's first set of scholarships for further study included one to Acadia University and two to Mount Allison; these were all modest awards, funded by friendly Maritime province institutions. The magnificent Rhodes scholarship to Oxford usually went to a Memorial student or exstudent. In 1929 Dalhousie added a $200 scholarship. By the time of confederation the total list comprised the Rhodes, two scholarships to Acadia, two to Mount Allison and one each to Dalhousie, King's and Mount Saint Vincent.[7]

The same orientation towards Canada may be observed in the academic background of Memorial's faculty. Table 3 shows where the sixty-three scholars, appointed to teaching posts in the college prior to 1950 gained their own degrees. Of a total of ninety-three degrees, fifty-nine — that is, 63 per cent of them — were from Canadian universities, while twenty-four were from institutions in Britain. Once again, as in the analysis of information from the volumes of *Who's Who*, links with the Maritimes were stronger than with any other part of Canada, though once again McGill was very important in the overall scheme of things. If the tone and traditions established at Memorial during its early years were derived from its faculty's perception of what a university should be like, based upon their own personal experience, then it was Canadian rather than British models that were the source of inspiration.[8]

When, therefore, Memorial established a preengineering programme in affiliation with a senior institute where Newfoundland students would complete their studies, it is not surprising that a partner was sought in the Maritimes. Memorial's recent calendars indicate that the affiliation between it and the Technical University of Nova Scotia began in 1930.[9] There may be some quibble about this date. The Nova Scotia Technical College calendar for the academic year 1931–32 does not mention any affiliation with

6. "Of such value," or, perhaps, "to a certain extent." Latin usages are not really meant to enlighten speakers of "barbaric" languages. *Pro tanto*, presumably, was meant to cloud the fact that Memorial did not enjoy the same equivalent academic standing with these English universities as it did with North American partners. NMUC *Calendar 1949–1950*, p. 10.
7. Ibid., 1928–1929, p. 10; 1929–1930, p. 13; 1949–1950, pp. 24–5.
8. On the other hand the influential and tone-setting first president, for eight years, was the British-born J.L. Paton, graduate of Cambridge and previously for twenty-one years high master of Manchester Grammar School in England. By 1932 Memorial's matriculation examination was being described as "the equivalent of the London (England) University Matriculation." See minutes of Board of Governors, Nova Scotia Technical College, 28 December 1932, when Memorial's affiliation was being discussed. But A.C. Hunter, another British member of the original 1925 faculty, apparently thought Paton, he and others had not too successfully inculcated the British preparatory school tone in the new country, terming Memorial "a junior college on the American model." A.C. Hunter, "Recollections of Memorial College," in *Book of Newfoundland*, ed. J.R. Smallwood (St. John's, 1967), Vol. IV, pp. 125–8.
9. Memorial University of Newfoundland, *Calendar 1985–6*, p. 301.

Table 3
Degrees Held by Scholars When Appointed to the Faculty of Newfoundland Memorial University College, 1927–1949[1]

Foreign country & institution		Number of degrees	Percentage of total
Canada		59	63
Dalhousie	9		
King's	1		
Saint Mary's	3		
Nova Scotia Technical College	6		
Mount St. Vincent	1		
Acadia	4		
Saint Francis Xavier	4		
Mount Allison	9		
McGill	12		
Macdonald College	1		
Queen's	1		
Toronto	5		
Western Ontario	1		
Saskatchewan	1		
British Columbia	1		
Britain		24	26
Oxford	6		
Cambridge	4		
London	8		
Durham	1		
Wales	1		
Manchester	1		
Sheffield	1		
Liverpool	1		
Edinburgh	1		
United States		9	10
Harvard	3		
Columbia	4		
City University of New York	1		
Denver	1		
Other		1	1
Paris	1		

1. This table includes information on sixty-three faculty members with ninety-three degrees from twenty-nine institutions. Source: NMUC calendars 1928–1929 to 1949–1950.

Memorial, though the school was affiliated with six other institutions. Each affiliate had a preengineering programme which dovetailed with the offerings at the finishing school, and also had the right to name a representative to the Technical College governing body. Annoyingly, calendars for 1932 and 1933 are not available. The 1934–35 calendar includes Memorial as one of seven affiliated colleges. At Memorial, the calendar for 1930–31 describes three programmes in the college: arts and science A and B, and premedicine, but no mention is made of engineering. The following year provides the first announcement of the 3-year preengineering programme, and also the first identification of a lecturer in engineering—T.W. Winter, B.A. (King's), B.Sc. (N.S. Tech.).[10] The board of governors of the Technical College agreed to Memorial's affiliation in December 1932; it was officially granted by the Nova Scotia Council of Public Instruction the following May; and Memorial's second president, A.G. Hatcher, came back to Halifax—where he had taught mathematics for six years at the Royal Naval College of Canada before it was wrecked in the famous 1917 explosion—for the first meeting when a Newfoundland representative sat with the college board in May of 1934.[11]

Such affiliation worked towards systematizing the flow of Newfoundland students to the mainland.[12] Some of Memorial's preengineering graduates, however, resisted regimentation and finished their studies elsewhere than at Nova Scotia Technical College. Meanwhile, a substantial proportion of Newfoundlanders at the Halifax college during the 1930s and 1940s did not arrive via Memorial. For the seventeen academic years between 1932 and 1949, the information in Table 4 shows the student careers of Newfoundlanders who eventually arrived there. The total number of individuals is 114, of whom 81 (71 per cent) came from Memorial, the others from preengineering programmes at four other universities in the Maritimes. As time passed the trend was for Memorial to become slightly more important, the Maritime universities less so, in preparing Newfoundlanders for degree work at the college in Halifax.

Analysing these data by sex is all too easy; there were no women among the preconfederation Newfoundlanders at Technical College. If it were possible, an anal-

10. NMUC calendars: 1930–31, p. 21; 1931–1932, pp. 20–1. The faculty list in the 1932–33 calendar leaves out Winter, but inserts a replacement, C.A.D. MacIntosh, also a graduate of Nova Scotia Technical College.

11. I am indebted to Clare Callaghan, president of the Technical University of Nova Scotia, for providing copies of the college board of governors' minutes of 28 December 1932, 19 May 1933 and 17 May 1934.

12. NMUC had other affiliations with mainland institutions as well, but they are less well-documented and were perhaps less formal. The majority of Memorial's premedical and predental students went on to Dalhousie or McGill. In the 1940s Newfoundland gave financial support to the Dalhousie schools, with the *quid pro quo* that Newfoundland students could go there. The new province's estimates for spending on education in 1950–51 totalled about $4.5 million, including $80,400 for Memorial, newly chartered as a full-fledged university, and $5,000 for Dalhousie. F.W. Rowe, *The history of education in Newfoundland* (Toronto, 1952), p. 70. An affiliation in agricultural studies with Macdonald College, McGill, dated from 1939. Stanley Frost, *McGill University* (Montreal, 1984), Vol. 2, p. 161.

Table 4
Chronological Table of Newfoundlanders at Nova Scotia Technical College, 1932–1949

Year of Entry	No. of Students Who Previously Studied At:					Total New Students	Total No. of Nflders. at N.S. Tech.	All Tech. Students (approx.)
	Memorial	Dal.	St. F.X.	Mt. A.	SMU			
1932	5	1	1	0	2	9	9	95
1933	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	94
1934	5	1	0	0	1	7	9	86
1935	2	3	0	0	0	5	7	72
1936	2	2	0	1	0	5	9	75
1937	3	0	0	0	0	3	9	63
1938	2	0	1	0	0	3	6	52
1939	3	0	0	0	0	3	6	50
1940	3	0	0	0	2	5	8	57
1941	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	57
1942	6	0	0	0	1	7	8	69
1943	6	0	0	0	0	6	13	67
1944	5	0	0	0	1	6	12	82
1945	9	0	0	0	0	9	15	130
1946	9	2	1	2	0	14	22	200
1947	9	1	2	1	2	15	29	255
1948	12	3	1	1	0	17	35	350
Totals 1930–49	81	13	6	5	9	114	213	1,854

Total number of Newfoundlanders who entered Nova Scotia Technical College in the seventeen years 1932–49 is 114; from Memorial, 81 (71 per cent); from other universities also affiliated with Technical College, 33 (29 per cent). (Source: Nova Scotia Technical College calendars, appropriate years.)

ysis by religion might indicate something; so too might an analysis according to the birthplace of the parents of these students if they could be discovered, to check to what degree this burgeoning interest in the most modern of professions came from long-settled, or from newly arrived, Newfoundland families. A locational analysis, comparing the home addresses of these students with the undergraduate college where they did preengineering studies, is, however, possible and the results are very revealing. Table 5 shows the locations of home addresses given by all students from Newfoundland as they entered Technical College, grouped into eight areas of the island. In the outport regions of Trinity, Bonavista and Notre Dame Bays, the pull of Memorial was almost the only one felt by the small number of prospective engineers entering college. In the St. John's area itself, four out of five students went first to the local campus. Memorial's influence was much weaker, of course, in more distant parts of the island. Only 42 per cent of those from central Newfoundland and 29 per cent from western Newfoundland came to Memorial. Central Newfoundland, one could say, was the most catholic of all areas of the island in that it sent its sons to all five undergraduate institutions including five to Newfoundland, five to Nova Scotia and two to New Brunswick. Since location, distance and transportation systems powerfully determine relationships, this difference between the northern bays — in fairly easy communication with St. John's — and more remote parts of the island, is to be expected. An anomaly one would like to understand, because it seems to oppose the main trend, is the behaviour of students from the Conception Bay area. None of the students in Conception Bay lived more than thirty or forty miles from St. John's. Areas to the north sent almost all their engineering students to Memorial, while Conception Bay, on the doorstep of the capital, and hardly any closer to the mainland than, say, Notre Dame Bay sent only twelve of its preengineers to Memorial while four went to Dalhousie and one to Mount Allison. One could speculate about the reason for this unexpected predilection towards college attendance in Canada; perhaps it is simply an unimportant skew produced by a small sample.

The tendency to send students on to Canadian universities was stronger in some parts of Newfoundland than others. Table 6 shows the actual bay-by-bay distribution of population within Newfoundland (based upon census figures for early and late in the period under review), and the breakdown of home addresses for Newfoundland students in three colleges, Mount Allison, Dalhousie and Saint Francis Xavier. In all three institutions, the intake of Newfoundland students belied the distribution of population within Newfoundland in one common respect, in the overrepresentation of the St. John's metropolitan area. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century galloping urbanization had not yet struck the island, and the number of people in St. John's was consistently one-fifth of the whole population of Newfoundland. Among students going to the mainland, however, the proportion from the capital city was much greater than one-fifth. This was no doubt because of the concentration of government, business, educational and church leaders in the city, forming a socioeconomic elite for whose members college attendance was financially feasible and even part of family tradition and expectations.

Table 6 also shows that the St. John's students were especially evident at Dalhousie; from the 1870s to the 1940s, 48 per cent of Newfoundlanders attending the

Table 5
Home Addresses and Undergraduate Colleges of Newfoundlanders at Nova Scotia Technical College, 1932–1949

Home Addresses	Total No. of Students	College for Preengineering					Percentage Who Chose Memorial
		Dal.	St. Mary's	St. F.X.	Mt. A.	Memorial	
St. John's region	56	3	7	2		44	79
Conception Bay	17	4			1	12	71
Trinity Bay	3					3	94
Bonavista Bay	3					3	
Notre Dame Bay	11	1				10	
Central Newfoundland	11	2	2	1	2	4	36
Western Newfoundland	8	2		2	1	3	38
South Coast	5	1		1	1	2	40
Totals	114	13	9	6	5	81	69

Source: Nova Scotia Technical College calendars, appropriate years.

Table 6
Regional Distribution of Population Within Newfoundland, and Among Newfoundland Students at Three Canadian Colleges, 1865–1951[6]

	Percentage of Population by Census		Percentage of Students from Home Areas in Newfoundland		
	1901	1945	At Mount Allison[1]	At Dalhousie[2]	At St. F.X.[3]
St. John's	18	20	24	48	25
Conception Bay	20	14	21	21	12
Trinity Bay	10	7	8	5	2
Bonavista Bay	10	8	6	4	—
Northern areas[4]	14	14	9	2	1
Central Newfoundland	—	6	10	4	15
Western Newfoundland	8	13	10	7	43
South Coast[5]	12	10	8	6	1
Placentia Bay and Southern Avalon	10	8	3	3	2
St. Pierre					1

1. Addresses known for 291 of 301 Newfoundland students identified by sampling at five-year intervals, 1865–1951.
2. Addresses known for 274 of 275 Newfoundland students identified by sampling at five-year intervals, 1870–1946.
3. Addresses known for all 127 Newfoundland students identified by sampling at five-year intervals, 1888–1951.
4. Fogo to St. Anthony, plus Labrador.
5. Port aux Basques to Fortune.
6. Some columns do not total 100 exactly, because of rounding.

Source: Newfoundland *Census*, 1901 and 1945; calendars of Mount Allison, Dalhousie and Saint Francis Xavier universities, appropriate years.

Halifax university were from the capital region. The other special feature about Dalhousie is that a large proportion of the students there were attending professional faculties, in law, medicine or dentistry. In 1900 three out of four students were in these faculties, in 1920 nine out of seventeen, in 1940 twenty-five out of fifty-five.[13] Meanwhile, nearly all Newfoundlanders studying at Mount Allison and Saint Francis Xavier were doing general arts and science. The conclusion emerges that the colony relied upon St. John's natives for about half of its cadre of highly trained specialists: actual count of Newfoundlanders in Dalhousie's professional faculties shows that 51 per cent gave their home address as St. John's, while Table 5 shows that fifty-six out of 114 engineering students during the period from 1932 to 1949 were also from the capital. This suggests that within Newfoundland society there was a strong tendency for children from St. John's to develop more complex and sophisticated ambitions, requiring longer schooling, than did students from the outports.

The pull of different institutions upon students from other areas of the island varied greatly, for interesting reasons. While Dalhousie and Technical College drew 7 per cent of their island students from western Newfoundland — roughly the proportion one would expect — at Saint Francis Xavier the proportion of students from this area was a startling 43 per cent. Why did Saint Francis Xavier have such an attraction for west coast students?

The answer lies in both geography and tradition, perhaps in equal measure. Until the College of Cape Breton grew out of "Little X" and Memorial established its Corner Brook campus in the 1970s, Saint Francis Xavier was the closest college geographically to people in western Newfoundland. The sea voyage from Corner Brook to Antigonish, for example, is only five-hundred kilometres, compared with about seven hundred to reach Halifax and one thousand to St. John's. In the age of rail and ferries

13. Enrolment of Newfoundlanders in various programs at Dalhousie:

Year	General (arts/science)	Law	Medicine	Dentistry	Total
1870	2				2
1880	1				1
1890		1			1
1895			1		1
1900	1	2	1		4
1905		1			1
1910	1	1		1	3
1915	1	1	4		6
1920	8	2	5	2	17
1925	12	3	3	2	20
1930	30	4	11	2	47
1935	18	1	14	1	34
1940	30	1	22	2	55
1945	46	8	27	2	83

Source: Dalhousie calendars, appropriate years.

it took perhaps eighteen hours to get from Stephenville to Saint Francis Xavier, but a full day to either Dalhousie or Memorial. Cost was also a factor. According to William A. Abbott, member of the House of Assembly for Port au Port district in 1930, some children in his region regularly went "across to Canada to receive an ordinary education," when the alternative was the high school programmes, meant to serve the whole colony, which the major denominations offered in St. John's. It cost nearly forty dollars return to St. John's on the Newfoundland railway, Abbott pointed out, while scholars could cross the Gulf for half that amount.[14]

Cost and geographical proximity, however, were no more important than traditional ties of ethnic and religious connections. A large proportion of pre-papermill settlers on the west coast had descended from Roman Catholic migrants, mostly Scots, with some Irish and Acadian, who moved over from eastern Nova Scotia during the period from 1840 to 1860.[15] Family, clan and culture kept alive many links with the latest old country – the old country on the Canadian mainland, not in Europe. When the church developed Saint Francis Xavier as a centre for Celtic and Catholic learning, then it was not only the closest but also, in a certain important sense their own, college.

Central Newfoundland offers another suggestive area for study. That riverine region from Bishop's Falls up the Exploits system to Buchans and Millertown was almost entirely uninhabited before the railway came through in the 1890s and the Grand Falls paper mill went into operation in 1908.[16] Even by 1945 it still held only 6 per cent of Newfoundland's population. Nevertheless, Tables 5 and 6 show that 15 per cent of Newfoundlanders at Saint Francis Xavier and 10 per cent at both Mount Allison and Nova Scotia Technical College were from this area. As was the case with western Newfoundland students, the existence of convenient transportation connections provides one explanation. Similarities in educational experience between the two regions raise the question if there was extensive movement of people, with their preferences, priorities and cultural baggage, into the Exploits valley from the west coast of Newfoundland. This newly settled area of the island came into existence as a community with a much more positive attitude towards higher education, and a higher participation rate for college attendance, than most of the long-settled and educationally less ambitious outport areas. Within the limits of available data, these figures suggest that St. John's, the Exploits Valley and Conception Bay, in that order, were the areas in which university participation rates from 1900 to 1949 were higher than the colonial average, while the whole stretch of the south coast from Port aux Basques to Cape Race and the northeast areas of Trinity and Notre Dame Bays were well below that average.

---

14. Abbott proposed students should be given free transport on the railroad; it would keep them home, retain in Newfoundland all the money spent in association with their schooling and, since the trains were running anyway, would not represent any new cost. Newfoundland, House of Assembly, *Proceedings 1930*, 9 July 1930, p. 363.
15. R.E. Ommer, "Highlands Scots migration to southwestern Newfoundland," in *The peopling of Newfoundland*, ed. J.J. Mannion (St. John's, 1977), p. 215.
16. In 1901 there were only 448 people residing in the Glenwood-Bishop's Fall-Badger-Millertown region; Buchans, Windsor and Grand Falls did not even exist. Newfoundland, *Census 1901*, Table 1, p. 176.

The proportion of women among preconfederation Newfoundland students who attended Canadian colleges fluctuated wildly from campus to campus. Table 7 provides the data for eight decades up to 1945. At Roman Catholic Saint Francis Xavier females were only 16 per cent of Newfoundland clientele. At Mount Allison, however—perhaps because it catered to a more enlightened or liberated segment of society—they were 26 per cent. The lowest figure here, 12 per cent, was at Dalhousie. This resulted from the numbers of Newfoundlanders in professional programmes from which women were almost fully excluded. Reading this table chronologically substantiates the view that the twentieth century witnessed an important widening of educational opportunities for women. The doors of liberation, however, apparently swung open in a halting manner, and not really very wide. The figures indicate that before 1900 perhaps 5 per cent of Newfoundland college students in Canada were women. This proportion increased to over one-fourth in the 1920s, then declined to one-fifth in the following decades of depression and war. Meanwhile the proportion of women in the student body of Memorial University College between 1925 and 1949 was considerably greater, 30 per cent.[17] For families in most parts of the colony, higher education at St. John's was less expensive than in Canadian institutions. Many families were probably reluctant to make the larger investment for a girl. Perhaps, too, the females were less ambitious.

While all these links reflect Canadian influence on Newfoundlanders, it is startling to note how important students from Newfoundland were in some, but not all, of the Canadian colleges. At Saint Francis Xavier, for instance, during thirteen academic years scattered through the period from 1885 to 1945, there were only 127 of them in a total enrolment of 3916, just 3.2 per cent. By contrast New Brunswick provided in the same years 538 of the university's enrolment, a substantial 13.7 per cent. The proportion of Newfoundlanders in the total student body at Dalhousie was about the same as at Saint Francis Xavier.[18] At Nova Scotia Technical College, however,

17. See Memorial University, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, student lists in MUC calendars, 1927–49.

18. And again, New Brunswickers were a much more substantial part of the out-of-province clientele.

		New Brunswick		Newfoundland	
Year	**Enrolment**	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
1875	101	3	3.0	0	
1885	173	16	9.2	0	
1895	325	16	4.9	1	—
1905	359	27	7.5	1	—
1915	383	27	7.0	6	1.6
1925	800	70	8.8	30	3.8
1935	943	80	8.5	34	3.6
1945	1179	113	9.6	84	7.1

These figures suggest that during the first half of the twentieth century, perhaps 4 per cent of Dalhousie students were from Newfoundland. Calculations made from student lists in the calendar of Dalhousie University, appropriate years.

Table 7
Analysis by Sex of Newfoundland Students at three Canadian Universities, 1865–1945

Academic Year	Dalhousie		Saint Francis Xavier		Mount Allison	
	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males
1865					0	1
1869	0	2				
1871					0	2
1875					0	3
1881	0	3				
1885					0	4
1888			1	2		
1890	0	1			1	5
1895	0	1	0	4	0	10
1901	0	4				
1902	1	3			1	7
1905	0	1	0	1	1	4
1911	0	3	0	7	5	14
1915	0	6	0	6	5	13
1921	1	14	1	3	9	20
1925	5	16	0	6	9	9
1930	6	43				
1931			3	9	9	20
1935	4	30	3	14	3	10
1940	10	45				
1941			2	12	14	17
1945	8	76	5	15	16	48
Totals	35	248	15	79	68	190
Percentage	12	88	16	84	26	74

Source: Student lists in Dalhousie, Saint Francis Xavier and Mount Allison calendars, appropriate years.

Newfoundlanders became a much more significant part of the student body in the 1930s and 40s. Preengineering diploma-holders from the junior college in St. John's began to swell the stream of recruits to Technical College just at the time when the Great Depression was drying up other sources. Newfoundlanders (see Table 4) became an important, even sustaining, element in the studentry of the Halifax college. By 1937 14 per cent of the enrolment comprised students from the offshore colony, and the proportion was consistently high thereafter: 14 per cent in 1940, just under one-fifth in 1943 and 11 per cent in 1947. Might this represent the greatest dependence upon foreign students that a Canadian institution of higher learning has ever experienced? Newfoundlanders also thrived at Mount Allison from the 1860s on, usually representing between 5 and 10 per cent of the enrolment. The greatest concentration occurred

in 1921 and in 1945, when Newfoundlanders were 11 per cent. In the latter year in theology, the enrolment of thirty-seven students consisted of twenty students recommended by the Maritime Conference of the United Church of Canada and seventeen by the Newfoundland Conference.[19]

What happened to students from Newfoundland who went to the mainland of Canada to complete their education? Did they ever go home again? Table 8 shows the career paths and life-locations of 137 individuals who studied at Dalhousie over sixty years up to 1931. Altogether, two-thirds of these students returned to live in Newfoundland, while 25 per cent stayed on in Canada and a surprisingly small 7 per cent went to the United States. Religious leaders seemed the most prone to stay away from their home country; businessmen, engineers and dentists were among those most likely to come back. Doctors and lawyers followed the norm, two-thirds of them returning. The largest student grouping here was those who took general arts or science degrees (twenty-five arts, eighteen science). Among the general arts group the return rate was 80 per cent. This group seems to have included principally teachers of both sexes, and many women whose career path was to find a husband in Newfoundland, or accompany one back, and contribute the enlightenment gained abroad in the raising of the next generation.

ii

The Newfoundland which experienced the proconfederation campaign of 1946–48 was, then, a society which directed two-thirds of its university students to colleges in Canada, with two-thirds of that group customarily returning from the mainland to achieve positions of leadership and influence back home.[20] Besides the movement of students, many other ties also testify to an intimate international partnership in matters of higher education. Newfoundland was a charter member of the early 1920s movement which aimed at a single great university in Halifax for all of the Maritime provinces (and Newfoundland). A Memorial College representative joined those from Saint Mary's, Acadia, and other institutions on the governing board of Nova Scotia Technical College, the scheme's only practical outcome. From 1942 on, the Newfoundland government made an annual grant of $5000 in support of Dalhousie's medical and dental schools, even though the other jurisdictions served by its graduates — Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick — did not.[21] When American philanthropists were distributing important gifts to higher education in the 1920s and 1930s, little distinction was made among the various parts of what is now called the

19. Mount Allison calendars, selected years.

20. This would tend to occur in the normal order of things, and was sometimes reinforced by conscious striving. When M.O. Morgan, who later became the third successor to Paton and Hatcher as president of Memorial, was a student in Halifax in the 1930s, "a group of us...formed a Newfoundland Society and the object of that was to persuade Newfoundland students at Dalhousie to go back to Newfoundland to help develop the province...." Memorial University of Newfoundland *Gazette*, 26 August 1981, supplement, p. 6.

21. Provincial Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, GN 38, S 3-1-2, file 3, Commissioner for Home Affairs and Education to Commission of Government, 4 March 1947.

Table 8
Specialties and Professions of Newfoundlanders Educated at Dalhousie University, 1869–1931, and Their Rate of Return to the Colony[1]

Career	Practised chiefly in[2]					Percentage of this Profession that returned to Newfoundland
	Newfoundland	Canada	United States	Other	Total	
Religious leadership		3			3	0
Intelligentsia (general arts or science degrees)	38	10	5		53	72
Medicine	21	10	2	1	34	62
Law	15	6	1		22	68
Other highly trained professions (engineers, dentists, pharmacists)	16	5	1		22	73
Business	3				3	100
Totals	93	34	9	1	137	68

1. Total sample: 161 Newfoundland students at Dalhousie in those years, of whom 15 died before September 1937, and on 9 of whom there was no information available.
2. These career locations are as suggested by the addresses given in Dalhousie University, *Directory of graduates and former students of the University, corrected to September 1937*, six to sixty-eight years after the Newfoundland students in question had attended there.

Atlantic region.[22] Another strong preconfederation expression of academic regionalism straddling the international border was the 1932 creation of the Common Examining Board, which set school leaving examinations for all four jurisdictions, and promoted in the Maritimes and Newfoundland a common curriculum and a single standard for university entrance.

As powerful as Canadian influence on Newfoundland through the provision of educational services may have been, these links have never been properly probed and studied. In the published works of the principal authority on Newfoundland education, F.W. Rowe, there is little discussion of postsecondary study and none of Newfoundlanders leaving the colony to seek qualifications overseas. The closest he comes to the subject is a remark that as late as 1949, when there were 2375 teachers in Newfoundland, "even in the larger schools the majority of the teachers had not spent more than one year at University," and only fifty-seven of them had university degrees.[23] There is no discussion of where those experiences, or those degrees, might have been gained. In 1933 the Amulree commission report noted that "increasing advantage is being taken of educational facilities in Canada,"[24] without elaborating.

The data tabulated for this paper provide a start towards answering hitherto ignored questions. Although the individuals selected, or accepted, for inclusion in the *Who's Who* volumes are very far from representing a cross section of Newfoundland society, there is no reason to think that the associated information on out-of-country education and training would be very biased for or against any particular nation or institution. Additional information about Newfoundland students at a number of mainland colleges has brought more clearly into view some of the social and spatial implications connected with Newfoundlanders' attendance at colleges in Canada. It seems clear that various arrangements connected with higher education formed important links between Newfoundland and Canada during the several decades that preceded confederation. Canadian colleges, especially in the Maritimes, provided opportunities for advanced training that were sought more frequently than possibilities in Britain or elsewhere. Newfoundlanders were a significant part of the student body in some mainland programmes. Semi-Canadianized Newfoundlanders returned to the island to become a major, perhaps the dominant, group in Newfoundland society's well-educated leadership cadres. If "semi-Canadianized" is too strong, then at least for these returnees Canada was a real place, not just a cussword in anticonfederation folklore. From its founding in the 1920s, Newfoundland's own Memorial University College — by its faculty appointments and extramural affiliations — steered a course towards integration with the Canadian college system. Memorial became the college of first resort for students from the St. John's area and the bays to the north, but had to compete for influence in other areas where the college participation rate was usually very low, and habits of looking outside the country quite engrained. In some

22. See John G. Reid, "Health, education, economy: philanthropic foundations in the Atlantic region in the 1920's and 1930's," *Acadiensis* (Autumn 1984), pp. 68–84.
23. F.W. Rowe, "The rise of education," in *Book of Newfoundland*, ed. J.R. Smallwood (St. John's, 1967), Vol. IV, p. 114.
24. Newfoundland Royal Commission, *Report* (London, 1933), chapter VIII, paragraph 540.

cases — for example, between Scots of western Newfoundland and Saint Francis Xavier University — links outside the colony were for a long time stronger than those within, and whole communities turned in an (officially foreign) Canadian orbit. The connection between the Corner Brook region and Saint Francis Xavier was just one small-scale sample of a whole pattern of interdependency that developed between Newfoundland and Canada after about 1900. Canada was the academic mother country for at least one or two full generations before the two countries joined in political union.